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Putnam's Journal

1757-1760



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JOURNAL
OF
GEN. RUFUS PUTNAM

KEPT IN NORTHERN NEW YORK DURING FOUR CAMPAIGNS OF
THE OLD FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

1757-1760

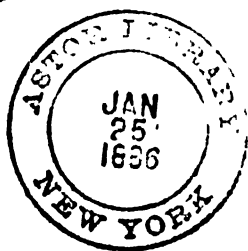
THE WHOLE COPIOUSLY ILLUSTRATED WITH NOTES AND
PRECEDED BY A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF
GEN. PUTNAM

BY

E. C. DAWES.



ALBANY, N. Y.
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1886.



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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.



BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH
OF
RUFUS PUTNAM.

RUFUS Putnam was born in Sutton, Massachusetts, April 9, 1738. His father died in 1745 and he was sent to live with Mr. Jonathan Fuller, his maternal grandfather, at Danvers where he was taught to read. His mother married Captain Sadler of Upton in 1747 and young Rufus returned to her. Captain Sadler was uneducated himself and denied the boy all opportunities for instruction. At the age of sixteen he was apprenticed to Daniel Matthews, of Brookfield, a millwright. While with him he managed to obtain a fair knowledge of arithmetic, geometry and history. In March, 1757, he enlisted as a private soldier in a company raised by Captain Ebenezer Learned for service against the French and Indians. He again enlisted in each

succeeding year until 1761, serving in 1759 as orderly sergeant and in 1760 as ensign. The story of these campaigns is told in the journal following this sketch. In April, 1761, he married Miss Elizabeth Ayres of Brookfield, and settled on a small farm of fifty acres in New Braintree, which he had purchased with money saved from his pay and bounty. His wife died in childbirth in November of that year. In 1765 he married Miss Persis Rice of Westborough and moved to a small farm in the north parish of Brookfield. His family remained here until 1780 when he moved them to the town of Rutland, where he had purchased a large confiscated estate.

At the close of his service in the French war, he devoted his spare time for several years to the study of surveying, in which he became so proficient that he soon found constant employment. In 1773 he went with Colonel Israel Putnam, Captain Roger Enos and Mr. Thaddeus Lyman to examine lands in Florida which the king, through the efforts of General Phineas Lyman, had promised to grant to the colonial officers and soldiers who had served in the Provincial regi-

ments in the French war. To facilitate his work Mr. Putnam was appointed deputy surveyor of that province by the governor of Florida. The party sailed up the Mississippi river to the mouth of the Yazoo, up the Yazoo to Haines bluff and explored the land back to Big Black river, down that stream to its mouth and along the banks of the Mississippi below. So favorable was their report, upon their return in the fall, that several hundred families from New England emigrated early in 1774 to settle on the lands. Many others were deterred, probably the Putnams among them, by the critical state of public affairs and a rumor that the king had refused to issue a patent¹ for the lands.

At the outbreak of the revolution in 1775, Mr. Putnam was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the Massachusetts regiment commanded by Colonel David Brewer. He planned and superintended the construction of the line of defence of the continental army at Roxbury. General Washington was so pleased

¹ A patent for twenty thousand acres in what is now Claiborne county, Mississippi, was issued to Thaddeus Lyman, Feb. 2, 1775.

with these works that he detailed him as acting chief engineer of the army.

On the 11th of August, 1776, he was appointed by Congress, chief engineer of the army with the rank of colonel. Preferring field service with troops he resigned in December to accept the command of the fifth Massachusetts regiment. With it he greatly distinguished himself in the campaign against Burgoyne as well as in the subsequent operations of the army. In January, 1783, he was appointed brigadier general. Throughout the war he possessed to a marked degree the confidence of General Washington.

Early in 1783, General Putnam became much interested in a plan, proposed by Colonel Timothy Pickering, for establishing a settlement and creating a new State west of the Ohio river. In June of that year he forwarded to the president of Congress, through General Washington who strongly recommended it, a petition signed by 288 officers of the Continental line asking that their bounty lands be located in that part of what is now the state of Ohio, east of the Scioto river and that an additional amount be sold to them for public securities. Congress took

no action on this petition. Virginia claimed the entire territory north-west of the Ohio river by right of the conquest of George Rogers Clark. Her claim had been ceded to the United States upon condition that the territory be divided into ten states, that the expense of its conquest be repaid, and that a tract of land be set apart for bounties to her officers and soldiers. These terms were opposed by Maryland and New Jersey who flatly disputed Virginia's claim. The cession was finally accepted by Congress, substantially upon the original conditions, in March, 1784. An ordinance for the government of the territory, drawn by Thomas Jefferson, was adopted a month later. An ordinance providing a method for survey and sale of the lands, after much discussion, was passed in May, 1785. Indian troubles on the frontier prevented the surveyors from commencing their work until the spring of 1786.

During these years General Putnam had resumed his occupation as a civil engineer. He was chosen by Congress one of the surveyors of territory under the ordinance of 1785, but owing to a previous engagement with the State of Massachusetts was unable to

accept at once and secured the temporary appointment of General Benjamin Tupper in his place. In the fall of 1785 General Tupper visited Pittsburgh. The glowing accounts he received while there, from all sources, of the fertility of the lands along the Ohio, determined him to move to the Western territory as soon as possible. He returned to Massachusetts about the first of January, 1786.

On the 10th of January, Generals Putnam and Tupper after a full conference, united in a call for a meeting of all who wished to become adventurers in the Ohio country to be held in Boston, March first, 1786. The result of this meeting was the formation of the Ohio company with a capital of one million of dollars in public securities, divided into one thousand shares of one thousand dollars each, to be expended in the purchase of lands in the North-western territory. The plan of sale adopted by Congress was so unsatisfactory, that after a lapse of a year but one-fourth of the shares had been subscribed. In March, 1787, General Putnam, General S. H. Parsons and Reverend Manasseh Cutler, were chosen directors and empowered to treat with Congress for the purchase of a

tract of land on a different basis. Doctor Cutler visited Congress, then in session in New York, in July, 1787, and succeeded in making a contract for the purchase of one and a half million acres of land in a compact body, including a large part of the valleys of the Muskingum and Big Hockhocking rivers, on terms far more favorable than provided in the ordinances of 1785. A new ordinance for the government of the territory, famous in history as the ordinance of 1787, was passed at the same time. Some of its provisions were framed by Doctor Cutler to accord with the wishes and interests of the Ohio company. The remaining shares in the company were quickly taken. In November, 1787, General Putnam, who was then serving as a member of the Massachusetts General Court from the town of Rutland, was made superintendent of the company. He conducted the first party of emigrants and on the 7th of April, 1788, landed with them at the mouth of the Muskingum river, where now is the city of Marietta and commenced the first organized settlement of the North-western territory. General Putnam continued to be the most active and influential

member of the Ohio company until the final settlement of its affairs in 1796.

In March, 1790, he was appointed by President Washington one of the judges of the United States Court in the North-western territory. He removed his family, his wife eight children and two grandchildren, to Marietta this year. He was also made superintendent of the affairs in the west of the Scioto company, but resigned before the close of the year. In 1792, while attending a meeting of the Ohio company in Philadelphia, he was commissioned brigadier general in the army to rank from the date of his original appointment in 1783. The directors of the Ohio company, seconded by Vice-president John Adams, endeavored to secure his assignment to command the forces operating against the Indians *vice* St. Clair. The choice for a time seemed to be between Generals Putnam and Lincoln. The objection to Putnam was the fact that his rank during the revolutionary war was not as high as that of others whose friends were supporting them for this command. General Anthony Wayne was finally chosen.

In the fall of 1792, General Putnam concluded a treaty at Vincennes with eight of the Wabash Indian tribes. In February, 1793, he resigned his commission in the army. In January, 1791, the Indians surprised the station of the Ohio company at Big Bottom killing or capturing its inmates. The settlements of the company were almost entirely without aid from the government. General Putnam organized the inhabitants for their own protection. The entire force that could be mustered was but two hundred and fifty men, divided between the stations at Marietta, Belpre and Waterford. Many war parties were sent to attack these posts but so perfect were the defences he planned and so completely were the garrisons covered by the company of rangers he organized, that during the remainder of the war, no hostile force was able to approach within striking distance without detection and no serious losses were suffered by the colonists.

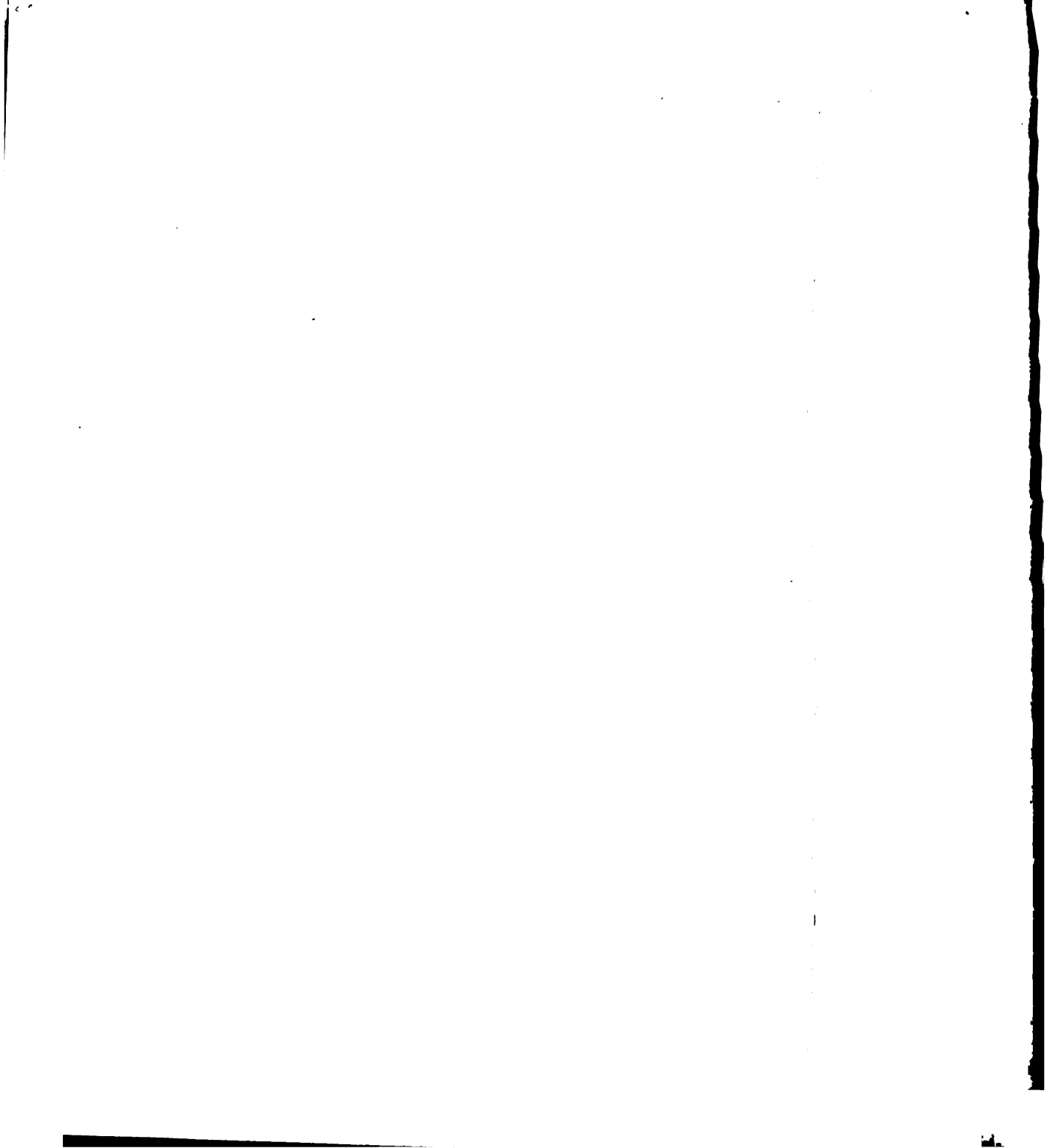
In 1796, General Putnam resigned as judge to accept the appointment, tendered him by President Washington, of surveyor general of the United States. He was removed from this office for political

reasons in 1803, by President Jefferson. In 1802, he was elected one of the delegates from Washington county to the convention which formed the first constitution of Ohio. He was chosen by the territorial legislature one of the first trustees of the Ohio University at Athens in 1801. The election of Jefferson to the presidency and the triumph of his followers in the new state of Ohio, ended the public life of General Putnam, who to the end of his days remained a staunch Federalist.

In 1798, he was the prime mover in establishing in Marietta the first academy of learning; in 1807, he planned and superintended the building of the church still used by the Congregational Society there; in 1812, he organized there the first Bible Society west of the mountains; in 1817, the first Sunday school and he was the largest subscriber to the funds of each.

He died in 1824, in his eighty-seventh year. His wife died in 1820. Five children, two sons and three daughters, survived them. Their descendants are widely scattered through the west and are among its leading and influential citizens.

About the year 1812, General Putnam wrote for his children a narrative of the leading events of his life. This, with the original of the journal which follows and other manuscripts, embracing an extensive correspondence with Washington, Pickering, Trumbull, Wolcott, Fisher Ames and others of the prominent men of his time, is deposited in the library of the college at Marietta, Ohio. A number of extracts from these memoirs appear in the notes. They show his matured opinion of the men and events mentioned in the journal.



**PUTNAM'S JOURNAL,
1757.**



Putnam's Journal.

RUFUS PUTNAM'S JOURNAL, For the year A. D. 1757, who belonged to the Militia Company in Brookfield, under the command of Capt. Nathaniel Woolcut, and enlisted into His Majesty's Service, in a Provincial Regiment of Foot of whom Joseph Fry, Esq., is Col. and in the Company of Capt. Ebenezer Learned.¹ To serve one year from the second day of February, 1757, and no longer.

Col. Fry's² Regiment consisted of 1800 men, and

¹ Ebenezer Learned, born Framingham, Mass., 1728; died Oxford, Mass., 1801. Captain in French war 1757. Marched to Cambridge with 3d Mass. regiment day after battle of Lexington. April 2d, 1777, appointed brigadier general by Congress. Commanded brigade at battle of Stillwater, Sept. 19th, 1777. Was at Valley Forge in winter of 1777 and 1778. Retired from the army, March 24th, 1778.—*Drake's Dictionary American Biography.*

² Joseph Frye, born in Andover, Mass., 1709; died Fryeburg, Maine, Jan. 8th, 1794, justice of peace and member Mass. General Court. Served as ensign in Hale's Mass. Regiment

they were in 17 companies. Capt. Chevers, Saltinson,¹ Burk², Kerver,³ Hartwell, Thaxter, Taplee,⁴ Davis,⁵ Indecut, Ingersol, Aberthonate,⁶ Walldo, Learned, Ball, Nelson, West, Baly.

at taking of Louisburg in 1745. Colonel of Mass. Regiment in 1757. Appointed major general by state of Massachusetts, 1775. Brigadier general by Congress in 1776. Resigned on account of ill health, April 23d, 1778.—*Drake's Dictionary American Biography.*

¹ Richard Saltonstall, was born at Haverhill, Mass., April 5th, 1732. He graduated at Harvard College, 1751. In 1754 he was colonel of militia. In 1757 he was captain in Col. Frye's provincial regiment and was with the troops surrendered at Fort William Henry. In 1760 he was colonel of a provincial regiment. At the close of the war he was appointed high sheriff of Essex county. He was an ardent royalist and in 1774 settled in England. The king granted him a pension, although he refused to enter the army. He died at Kensington, England, in 1785.—*See Chase's History of Haverhill.*

² Capt. John Burk "at the surrender of Fort William Henry was seized and stripped of his clothes, but escaped."—*Trumbull's Indian Wars.*

³ Kerver. Probably Captain Jonathan Carver, the famous traveler; he was with Frye's regiment in this campaign.

⁴ There was a Capt. Jno. Taplin from Sutton.

⁵ Capt. Davis of Brimfield, Mass., was tarred and feathered at Union, Connecticut, in 1774 for his obnoxious acts and sentiments.—*Sabine's Loyalists.*

⁶ "Captain Arbuthnot, who was in the fort (William Henry) at the time of its surrender, hailed from Marlborough." *Hudson's History Marlborough.*

March y^e 15, 1757. Then enlisted myself into his majesty's service.

March 25. Then passed muster at Deacon James Woods in New Brantry, before Col. Timothy Ruggles, Esq.,¹ of Hardwick.

April y^e 12 & 13. Drawed our arms and clothing at Worster. The same day I went to Sutton to my brothers.

April 15. Returned from Sutton to Brookfield.

April 29. Capt. Learned's company mustered together at Brookfield in order to march.

April 30. Marched to Kingston.

May y^e 1. Marched from Kingston to Springfield.

May 2. It being very windy all the fore part of the day, so that we could not cross the River until just

¹ Timothy Ruggles, born Rochester, Mass., Oct. 11th, 1711; died at Wilmot, Nova Scotia, August 4th, 1795. Graduated Harvard University, 1732. Practiced law at Sandwich and Hardwick. Member Mass. legislature, 1736. Colonel of a Mass. Provincial regiment, 1755, 1756 and 1757. Brigadier general in 1759 and 1760. Chief justice Mass., from 1762 till 1775. Speaker of assembly 1762-3. Delegate to Stamp Act Congress at New York in 1765. Adhered to the royal cause during the revolution. Left Boston when it was evacuated by the British, and accompanied the army to Long Island, where he organized a battalion of loyal militia. His estate was confiscated by Mass. in 1779. He settled in Nova Scotia. He was a successful lawyer, a scholar of note, and a brave and capable soldier.— *Drake's Dictionary of American Biography.*

night. After we crossed the river we marched about five miles.

May 3. Marched to Glasgow.

May 4. Marched through the Green Woods¹ to No. 1.

May 5. Marched to Lovejoys about ten miles beyond Sheffield.

May 6. Marched into Kinderhook, where we were lodged in two Barns.

May 7. Drawed stores for one week which were very mean and scanty, and we had not yet drawed anything to cook in, which made it very difficult for us.

May ye 10. By reason of other companies coming into town, our company was obliged to move about one mile and a-half all into one Barn.

May 12. Leut. Moore of Worster came to see us from Albany, and several other Rangers with him.

May 17. We had orders to March to Scocook. During our stay at this place Capt. Learned went to

¹ Green Woods. The forest between the Connecticut and Hudson rivers.

"In 1736 a committee of the General Court of Massachusetts recommended the laying out a range of townships between the Merrimack and the Connecticut and on each side the last named river. These townships were numbered 1 to 9. Of these Number 4 was afterwards called Charleston in honor of Admiral Sir Charles Knowles."— *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society*, N. 102, 103, 113.

prayer with his Company morning and evening and on the Sabbaths read in a sermon Book.

May 18. Marched this day to Greenbush, where we lodged in Col. Ranelow's Barn.

May 19. Every man had Nine Rounds delivered to him which was the first ammunition that we drewed after we marched to Albany Flats, and the same day we drawed our Tents, Kettles, Bowls, Platters, Spoons. This Night we pitched our Tents and Lodged in them.

May 20. This morning, sun about an hour high, one of our Company was shot through the hip with a single ball. The ball is cut out, and the man is likely to do well. His name is Jedediah Winslow.

May 21. Marched from the Flats to Scocook—this town is on the Hoosack river and is about three miles from Stillwater. Has been a settled town by the Dutch, but its inhabitants are all drawn in, for fear of the Enemy. There were two other Companies came into this town this night, viz: Davis and Indecuts.

May 24. There came three Companies more into Town viz: Ingersol, Thaxter, Baly, the Companies all belonged to Massachusetts Regt's.

May 26. About nine o'clock Capt. Indecut's Company and Capt. Learned's marched back three miles to the Mills and opposite to the Halfway House, and the other Companies marched to Stillwater, and we found that our Companies with Capt. Burk's, which

we found there, were left there to mend up the fences at Scocook, in order to cut Hay for the king's Baggage Horses.

May 27. Capt. Learned, Leut. Walker with 70 men went to Scocook to work.

May 30. Capt. Learned finished the fences at Scocook and turned out the Horses and it was Judged by all that there was 1,500 acres within fence, all of the best of mowing. After which we returned back to the Landing, where we found that Jedediah Winslow who was shot, down at the Flats, was come up, and was able to stand upon crutches.

June 3. Col. Fry came up to this place.

June 4. Col. Fry went up to Stillwater with a guard of 30 men.

June 8. Received orders to march.

June 9. Marched to Stillwater where there were ten companies belonging to our Regt.

June 11. Col. Fry with thirteen Companies marched to Saratoga where the rest of our Regt. lay.

June 13. Two hundred and fifty Hampshire men came to Saratoga.

June 14. Col. Fry marched his Regt. toward Fort Edward,¹ but we could not reach the Fort this night

¹ "Fort Edward stood on the easterly bank of the Hudson or North river about 66 miles above Albany. The river washed one side of its wall. Its form was somewhat irregular, having two bastions and half bastions. The walls were high and thick,

but encamped in the old field opposite to the Brick-kills.

June 15. Crossed the river and pitched our Tents.

June 16. Capt Putnam¹ came in from Ticonderoga and had taken a prisoner.

composed of hewed timber and earth. A broad rampart with casement or bomb-proof. A deep ditch with a draw-bridge. A covered way, glacis, etc. I have been particular in this description; because in 1777 there was by no means so great an appearance of there having been a fortification there as we find in the ancient works at Marietta and other parts of the Ohio country.—*Mss. Memoirs.*

¹Israel Putnam. He is often confounded with Rufus Putnam. He was a cousin of Rufus Putnam's father. Israel Putnam was born in West Salem, Massachusetts, January 7th, 1718. In 1755, he raised and commanded a company for the French war and greatly distinguished himself by his courage. He was promoted to major in 1757; to lieutenant colonel in 1759; and colonel in 1764. He commanded a Connecticut regiment in the expedition against Havana and was with Bradstreet in his campaign against the western Indians. After the expiration of his term of service, he was several times elected to civil office in Connecticut. In 1773, he went with Rufus Putnam, Thaddeus Lyman, Roger Enos and others to examine lands in Florida, that were to be granted to the colonial officers and soldiers who had served in the French war. He returned the following year and resumed his occupation as a farmer. On hearing of the battle of Lexington in 1775, he unhitched his horse from the plow and rode to the scene of action. He returned, recruited a regiment and marched to Cambridge. He was commissioned brigadier general by Connecticut April 26th, 1775; major general by the continental congress June 19th, 1775.

June 17. Our Regt. was drawn up and viewed by Major Fletcher and afterwards had the Articles of War read to us.

June 18. This day two of our Bay forces, were buried which was the first that was buried out of our Regt. This day likewise there went a party of men part of the way down to Saratoga and there encamped.

June 19. About break of day those men arose and began to march toward Saratoga, but they had not marched far, before they were fired upon by the Enemy. They shot one man through the Body so that he died the next day. Another man was slightly wounded in the head. Both these were Regulars. The rest of the men all came in well. This day there were orders for every man should fire his piece, except they were newly loaded.

June 20. I went on guard.

In command of the American forces at Bunker Hill he displayed the same reckless gallantry that made him famous in the French war. He commanded in New York after the evacuation of Boston by the British ; was engaged in the battle of Long Island, commanded at Philadelphia and on the New Jersey front in the winter of 1776 and 1777 ; located the fort at West Point in 1777. In 1779, he was attacked by paralysis and compelled to leave the service. He died May 19th, 1790, This extract from his epitaph fittingly sums up his character as a soldier. "He dared to lead where any dared to follow."

June 21. There came a scout of men in who had been out under Capt. Ingersol, they went out the 19 instant. The scout consisted of about 80 men.

June 22. The Mohawks brought in a prisoner from Ticonderoga.

June 23. Capt Flecher of the 35 Regt. with about 30 Regulars, 20 Royal Americans and Capt. Saltinson with 92 Bay men besides officers mustered down to Saratoga in order for to guard up General Webb, and arrived there about four o'clock in the afternoon, and at our arrival we did expect to find General Webb,¹ but he was not come.

¹Lieutenant General Daniel Webb, entered the army as ensign of the Coldstream Guards, 29th May, 1745, but resigned in February, 1747, and joined, it is supposed some other regiment. He succeeded Colonel Dunbar in the command of the 48th foot, on the 11th November, 1755, and arrived at New York from England, 7th June, 1756, with the rank of brigadier general, to relieve General Shirley.

In succeeding to the regiment of Colonel Dunbar, he seems to have inherited also his disposition to take to flight, on the least appearance of danger ; for being dispatched in 1756 with a considerable force to the relief of Oswego, as soon as he got to the carrying place, now Rome, Oneida county, N. Y., he became so alarmed on hearing of the fall of the fort he was sent to relieve, that he filled Wood creek with trees to prevent the approach of the enemy. One would think that this would prevent his being again put in any position of responsibility, but no, the next year he shamefully abandoned Colonel Munroe at Fort William Henry, though at the head of 4000 men. He

June 24. This day about 11 oclock General Webb came to the Fort and in the afternoon we returned back to Fort Edward.

June 25. This day I went on command at Saratoga to guard teams, and when we came there we (found) a great number of Regulars and 12 field pieces.

June 26. We returned to Fort Edward and the Regulars with the Artillery also went up as far as the River but they did not go over this night.

June 27. There were two men whipped 20 lashes apiece, and they were the first that were whipped in our Regt.

June 28. 13 Frenchmen that broke goal at York and were going up toward Crown Point, by being lost came into this Fort. This night I went on the picket guard.

June 29. There were orders that a true list of what Officers and Soldiers were willing to go a scouting and be freed from other duty, should be given in.

was ordered home in consequence, but was protected in some inexplicable way from censure. On the 25th June, 1759, he was promoted to be major general; in June, 1761, became lieutenant general; in December, 1766, was appointed colonel of the 8th or King's regiment of foot; on the 20th October, 1772, colonel of the 14th Dragoons, and died in October or November, 1771.— *Documents relating to Colonial History, New York, volume 10, p. 574.*

July 1. This day there came in two of Capt. Putnam's men and brought in news that Capt. Putnam fired upon three or four hundred French and Indians on South Bay, but when they got to shore they were too hard for him and he wanted help. General Lyman with about 400 men went out for his relief. I was on the picket guard so that I could not go. About 4 hours after Capt. Putnam came in, who said that when he fired on the Indians it was about three o'clock at night, and being bright moonlight and the Enemy came up the Bay quietly, and they lying undiscovered till they fired on them, and they poured in their buck shot so thick that they cut off a great part of their boats before they could land. The Enemy tried to land against him but could not easily do it, he fired so thick upon them; at length the Enemy got to shore below him in spite of their fire. The Indians wounded three of his men & he sent of a party to help them away. After the Indians got on shore he was forced to Retreat, for he judged that there was three or four hundred of the Enemy; and he had but sixty-eight men when he fired on them on the Bay. On Capt. Putnam's return home, there was another scout met him and carelessly fired on him and wounded one of his men, so that he died the night after.¹ This day was also two scalps brought in by the Mohawks.

¹ Humphrey's Life of Israel Putnam gives an account of this

July 2. I went on a guard to escort Teams to the Lake.

July 3. We returned to Fort Edward with 4 French Regulars who deserted from Ticonderoga. An Ensign also who was taken last year came in from Canada.

July 4. General Lyman¹ came in with all the men that went out with him ; but they found that two of

action, not materially different from this; though it is made to occur after the surrender of Fort William Henry.

Watson's History of Essex Co. N. Y., also speaks of this action as occurring in 1758.

¹ Major General Phineas Lyman was born at Durham, Connecticut, about 1716; was graduated in 1738 at Yale College, in which he was afterwards a tutor three years; and settled as a lawyer in Suffield. He sustained various public offices. In 1755, he was appointed major general and commander-in-chief of the Connecticut forces, and built Fort Lyman now called Fort Edward, New York. In 1758 he served under Abercrombie. He was at the capture of Crown Point by Amherst, and at the surrender of Montreal. In 1762, he commanded the provincial troops in the expedition against Havana. In 1763 he went to England, as the agent of his brother officers, to receive their prize money; also as agent of a company called the "Military Adventurers," to solicit a grant of land on the Mississippi, and wasted eleven years of his life. Being deluded for years by idle promises, his mind sunk down to imbecility. At last his wife, who was a sister of Dr. Dwight's father, sent his second son to England to solicit his return in 1774. A tract of 20,000 acres was granted to the petitioners February 2,

those wounded men of Capt. Putnam's were carried off, and the third they found barbecued at a most doleful rate, for they found him with his nails all pulled out, his lips cut off down to his chin and up to his nose, and his jaws lay bare; his scalp was taken off, his breast cut open, his heart pulled out and his bullet pouch put in the room of it; his left hand clenched round his gall, a Tomahawk left in his bowels and a dart struck through him; the little finger of his left hand cut off and the little toe of his left foot cut off.

July 5. Six Companies of Rangers were appointed out of all the Provincials; these were to do Ranging duty and no other. Out of our Regt. was Capt. West and Capt. Learned, Out of Connecticut was Capt. Putnam and Capt. Sefford, and out of York forces Capt. Meginiss, out of Rhode Island Capt. Wall. There were 52 men of Capt. Learned original Company enlisted with him, also there went his first Lieut, and Ensign, one Sergeant and two Corporals.

July 6. In the afternoon the Rangers were mustered together and there fell to Capt. Learned, the men that went out of Capt. Kerver's, Capt. A. Hartwell, Capt. Burk's, Capt. Taplees' Companies; and the rest of our Regt went under Capt. West. This

1775. After his return he embarked with his eldest son, for the Mississippi, and both died soon after their arrival at West Florida, in 1775.—*Dwight's Travels*, I, 305; III, 361.

night we had 24 Rounds delivered to us with what we had before.

July 8. This morning, Lieut. Colings, who joined our company, went out a scout for six days, with 22 men. Our orders were to go and lie on the mountains West of South Bay and lie there three days. We marched about 10 miles and then encamped.

July 9. We marched on in the path that the French Army came in the first. We marched about ten miles & then Lieut. Colings concluded that we were got so near the South Bay that it was not safe to go on the Road any further, and he sent three of us off, to see which was the best way to come on the mountain to view the Bay. And we were gone so long that they concluded the Enemy had taken us, and so they marched off carrying off all our provisions and Blankets. When we returned, we hunted for to track off, but could not, for we found they went upon the mountains. We fired a gun to see if they would answer us, but they did not, though afterwards they told us they heard us. This night we encamped as well, but the gnats and mosquitoes were a great trouble to us, having no blankets; and I had nothing but a shirt and Indian stockings, and no man can tell what an affliction those little animals were.

July 10. This morning we fired two guns but had no answer. We hunted till about noon, but could not find them. About noon we were on the mountains west of South Bay, and, after hunting till about one

o'clock and then not finding them, we set off for Fort Edward and arrived the same night within about eight miles of it.

July 11. This morning about ten o'clock we arrived at Fort Edward, and now for three days I had not eaten any food, but what grew wild in the woods.

July 12. Came in Lieut Colings and the rest of the Scout that went out with me to South Bay.

July 15. Capt. Learned went out a Scout for 8 days with 80 men. Orders given out that if any man was found playing cards, he should receive 500 lashes.

July 16. A sick man was sent in from Capt. Learned's Scout. This day there was one of Capt. Tapslee's men a playing Ball and immediately dropped down dead.

July 19. Capt. Nelson, with about one hundred and fifty men, went down to work on the Roads between Saratoga and Fort Edward.

July 21. This day here was a soldier belonging to the Second Battalion of Royal Americans, shot for desertion. This day also came in a scout of men that went out under Lieut. Dormit, and they said they were fired upon near South Bay and Lieut Dormit was killed. This day also came in Capt. Learned who went out the 15 day.

July 23. This morning about eight oclock in the morning about 400 Indians fired on our workmen within 80 Rods of the Fort. Capt. Learned's Company being the first on the ground, for they were the

nearest, and they were smartly engaged some time before any other help could get there. Capt. Putnam and his Company was the next though they had to come from the Island. The fight continued about one hour and then the Enemy Retreated. We recovered some Packs & some guns; but no prisoners, nor scalps. The Enemy killed 11 men, and one is missing; 2 more died the night after. In the afternoon, Capt. Learned, Capt. Putnam and Capt. West pursued them with about 250 men, and we made great discovery of their dead and wounded, but recovered none. We marched about ten miles and then encamped.²

July 24. Returned home safely.

July 25. General Webb went up to the Lake.

July 26. There was a man shot off his gun accidentally, & shot a man in the next Tent through the

²This fight is spoken of in Humphrey's life of Israel Putnam, as having occurred after the surrender of Fort William Henry. Humphrey says that Israel Putnam was stationed "on an island adjacent to the fort." At sound of the firing he plunged into the river at the head of his men and hurried to the rescue. As he passed the fort, Gen. Lyman ordered him to halt. He disobeyed the order, and with the assistance of the men he brought, the troops engaged; who were nearly overpowered, rallied and repulsed the enemy. General Lyman feared that the firing was the prelude to a general attack, and that the whole party would be lost. Humphrey says nothing of Capt. Learned; but says the working party were protected by Capt. Little with fifty British regulars.

body ; who never spoke more words than these : I am a dead man ; the Lord have mercy on me.

July 27. This day our men growing very unwilling to go a scouting without some consideration for it, they made their complaint to the Capt. and he made application to Major Fletcher, the Commanding Officer of the Fort who came out and spoke to us on behalf of the General and told us if we would still stand as Rangers, we should (have) three dollars per month allowed us, extraordinary ; and half a pint of Rum when we scouted. The Rum we got sometimes ; but the money we never see.

July 28. The Rangers shot at marks by order of Major Fletcher.

July 29. Capt. West came in of his scout, who had been to South Bay and buried Lieut. Dormit ; whom they found with his head and arms cut off and his body cut to pieces.

July 30. General Webb came down from the Lake.

July 31. This day the whole army was set at a minute's warning.

August 1. This day Col. Fry's Regt. ordered to march to the Lake tomorrow.

August 2. Col. Fry marched his Regt. to the Lake, except Two Companies of Rangers and a great number of Invalids. Part of the 2nd Battalion of Royal Americans, and the Independent Regt. marched with them and Eight Field Pieces.

August 3. This morning, I being out on the morning scout with Capt. Learned, sun about a quarter of an hour high, we heard the Cannons fired at Fort William Henry, and before we got in, we heard 15 Cannons fired and a great many small arms. When we came into Fort Edward we found that Capt. Putnam had sent off three men for spies.

August 4. There came in an Express from Fort William and brought news that there was near 12000 French landed against Fort William.

August 5. There came another Express from Fort William and brought news that for the first two days, the French fired no cannon, and that they had killed but few men; and that the men were in good spirits and of good courage.

August 6. This day there came another Express from the Lake and brought news that the French flung no bombs as yet. Further they brought News that Lieut. Jonson was out on a scout when the siege first began and that he came through the French Army into our Breast-work without losing one man. He also bro't news that there was but about 300 men in the Fort; the rest were in the Breast-work on the hill, or the old encampment; and that the Enemy had not hurt the Fort in any shape.

August 9. Mr. Crofford, Chaplain to our Regt. Preached from 1 Samuel 14 : 6. In the afternoon there came in another Express from the Lake and

brought news that the French flung their Bombs into the Fort, but they killed but few men.

August 8. There came no Express from the Lake.

August 9. There came another Express from the Lake and bro't news that the Fort was well last night at nine o'clock. Last night also we saw the signals that were flung up for signals of distress at Fort William Henry. The Post also s^d that they had split most of their Cannon, and that they must be obliged to give up the Fort, except they had relief from this Fort. This Express arrived in about ten o'clock, and before he came in, the Cannon ceased, but we knew not the meaning of it. Just at night there came in a Frenchman that belonged to Capt. Thaxter, and he said that the French flag was hoisted in Fort William Henry at eight o'clock this morning; and as soon as he saw it, he jumped over the Breast-work and made his escape.

August 10. This day the Enemy fell on our People, contrary to the articles of Capitulation.¹

August 11. This day several of the officers belonging to our Regt. came and among them all there was

¹ In his manuscript memoirs Gen. Putnam, in speaking of the surrender of Fort William Henry, says that the general opinion in the army at that time was that General Webb was a coward, and that he could and should have made an effort to relieve the fort. There was much excitement in regard to his conduct in neglecting to bury the dead who had been butchered by the Indians or to search among them if by chance any might be living.

but one that had not lost the most of his Clothes, and all his Regimental Rigging. This night came in Col. Fry.

August 12. This day the most of the men that came in from the Lake were sent off.

Aug. 13. Col. Fry went off from this Fort.

August 14. Just at night there came a Flag of Truce from the Lake to warn a guard to come and receive the Prisoners that were left.

August 15. General Webb sent a guard to Receive the Prisoners, at the Half-way Brook; where they went and returned home to the Fort the same day.

August 16. In the afternoon Lieut. Walker with about 20 men, went out after a man that was wounded on the Road; and about two miles from Fort Edward we lit of an Englishman, who was taken at Oswego last year, and came waiter to a French Officer down to the siege of Fort Wm. Hy. and had now made his escape from them. And he gave us intelligence that the Army which came to the Siege of Fort Wm. Hy. marched from Quebec the last day of April, and that the army besides Indians (consisted of) 15000 (perhaps these figures are 18000) Regulars and Canadians. We found the man and carried him into Fort Edward the same night.

August 17. There came in one of our Regt. who had been in the woods ever since the 9th day.

August 19. Came in one of the Regulars who had been out in the woods ever since Fort Wm. H. was taken.

August 20. Capt. Learned was carried into the Hospital sick with the small-pox.

August 21. This day Capt. Putnam went for eleven days scout. This day came in Lieut. Coone who was taken last June at Scocook Landing (and) another who was taken thirteen months ago, at (Hoosack). They came from Montreal 20 days ago.

August 24. This day came in George Robins of Petersham, who was taken the 17 of last April, 20 miles from No. 4 Fort. There were three more men that came in with him. The name of the Indian Town he lived in was Caughneeawaukee. He brought news that the French hired 200 savages to fight for them, and that they would bite pieces out of their arms and shoulders, as they travelled along, and suck their blood; and that they would when they killed them, cut out their breast bone and suck their blood up with it; and further he said that the French could not command them; but that they would kill Horses, Sheep and cattle, and that they killed one Frenchman to eat, and when they came through the town, the Squaws pulled the Prisoners into the houses for fear of those horrible Towevans for so they call them.

August 26. Peter Thair of our Company, who had deserted, was bro't back and put under the Regular guard.

August 30. Capt. Putnam came in who had been out 12 days Scout up to Ticonderoga, and had left a negro sick in the woods and two Indians to look after him.

September 1. Came in two men from the French that were taken some years ago. This day Lieut. Walker, with 40 men, went out after the negro that Capt. Putnam left in the woods. We took six days provisions and marched this day about 20 miles.

Sept. 2. After encamping we marched on our way about 5 miles, and then met the two Indians that were left with the negro, and they s^d that as one of them was some way off boiling some cocolatt (?) and he said that he saw an Indian come up a Sharp Ridge and look down upon him; then the Indian stepped back and a Frenchman looked over the Ridge. He said he made as if he did not see him; but went directly off and told his mate which made his escape with him and left the negro. After we found these men, we returned some part of the way, and then encamped.

Sept. 3. We came to Fort Edward. This day Peter Thare was set at Liberty.

Sept. 4. Two High Dutchmen came in from Ticondaroga who deserted from there six days ago. In the afternoon came in two Frenchmen. The sun

about an hour high, John Weeks of Capt. Learned's Company, was out a frying some beef and immediately dropped down dead.

Sept. 5. This morning there was two of the Royal Americans Shot for their deserting, and was taken up near the Lake. A Connecticut man whipped 500 Lashes for Enlisting into York forces. And this Evening three Yorkers whipped 600 lashes apiece and were to receive the remainder of a thousand; which lashes they Received for deserting. Eight Prisoners came in from the French, that were taken at Fort Wm. Hy.

Sept. 6. This day there went out three Scouts, 20 men on a Scout. One was to go to East Bay; the second, toward the South Bay; the third toward the East side of Lake George. These Scouts went out for six days.

Sept. 14. 20 of Capt. Learned's Company was drafted into Capt. West's and the rest were sent on to the Island to do Camp duty, Lieut Walker also tarried with those that went into Capt. West's Company.

Sept. 16. Ensign Manton of Capt. West Company, went out with 20 men with two days provisions, in order to go and see what discovery we could make at the Lake. We marched up to the Half-way Brook and then encamped.

Sept. 17. 10 of our party was sent into Fort Edward and the rest of us marched on toward the Lake

and on our march we met with a Hampshire man that had made his escape from Ticonderoga. We went up to the Lake, but discovered nothing but the Ruins of that famous Fort and the Bodies of those men that the Enemy so barbarously murdered on the 10 of August. We loaded ourselves with choice turnips and then returned to Fort Edward. At our return we found that Capt. Learned was come out of the Small-Pox Hospital which we were all very glad to see.

Sept. 19. Two Frenchmen that belonged to our Regt. and was taken at Fort Wm. came in from Ticonderoga.

Sept. 20. Major Rogers¹ came up with his Rangers who had been down to Halifax all the summer with my Lord Loudon.

¹ Robert Rogers, born Dunbarton, N. H., about 1730; died in England about 1800. During the French war, he commanded with great credit to himself, a battalion of rangers who rendered excellent service. This battalion was the model from which Rufus Putnam organized the company of rangers which so effectively protected the Ohio Company settlements during the Indian war, 1791 to 1795. In 1760 Major Rogers with 200 men took possession of Detroit. In 1766 he was appointed by the king, governor of Michilimacinae. He was accused of plotting to sell the post to the French and was sent in irons to Montreal tried by court martial and acquitted; but deprived of his office.

Visited England in 1769, was imprisoned for debt; when released he returned to America and, shortly after the out break

Sept. 27. Capt. Learned had a furlough to New England for the recovery of his health.

October ye 2. A Frenchman taken between this Fort and the Lake by some Connecticut men was brought in. This day I went out a scout for three days with Sergt. Martain Sephorance¹ of Major Roger's Company. In our Scout we discovered nothing remarkable. We steered our course up the great River.

Oct. 4. We returned home to Fort Edward. The same day came in Lieut. McCurda² from the Narrows

of the revolution, was arrested by General Washington as a spy. Released upon parole, he violated it, joined the British army, was commissioned colonel and placed in command of the Queens Ranger's. He saw but little service, and about 1778, returned to England. In 1778, was proscribed and banished by the State of New Hampshire. In 1785, he published a journal of the French war, which was republished in 1789, with an account of Boquet's expedition against the Ohio Indians. He also published the tragedy of "Ponteack" His diary of the siege of Detroit was published in 1860.

¹ Probably Sergeant Martin Severance. Surgeon Thomas Williams in a letter to his wife Aug. 25th, 1756, acknowledges receipt of one from her by hand of Sergeant Severance who had been on a scout.—See *Dawson's Historical Magazine April*, 1870.

² Lieut. McCurdy of Haverhill was an officer in Captain Richard Rogers' company of Major Robert Rogers' battalion of rangers.

and brought in a French Prisoner which he had taken at the Narrows.

Oct. 8. Our Ranging Company broke up and we were ordered into the Regt. to do Camp duty.

Oct. 10. This day there was one of Col. Ottaway's Regt. that was taken at Fort W^m Hⁿ Came into this Forte and brought news that there was a Flag of Truce come to the Half-Way Brook, with six Prisoners, and that they sent him to inform the General and to desire him to send a guard to come and receive them. The same day went a guard to receive them.

Oct. 11. I went on the main guard; and the guard that was sent for the Prisoners came with them.

Oct. 14. Went on command to Saratoga.

Oct. 15. Returned home to Fort Edward.

Oct. 17. I went to work on the Fort.

Oct. 18. I went on the main guard.

Oct. 20. Two Royal Americans hanged for Theft and Desertions.

Oct. 24. There was a man found dead about 60 Rods from the Brick-Kilns.

Monday Oct. 25. There was another man found dead at the Brick-kilns. This man was shot through the Body with two Balls. These men were both Butchers, and went out after their sheep, on Sunday. There were three went out, and the other is not found yet.

Oct. 30. The snow fell two inches deep.

Nov. y^e 7. This day we Launched a Scow fifty feet long and 15 feet wide. This day His Excellency, The Rt. Hon. Earl of Loudon¹ and Chief General of North America, came to Fort Edward.

Nov. 9. The carpenters were all dismissed from the king's work and the Fort was finished.

Nov. 10. This morning they fired a Round of Cannon in the Fort as a sign of finishing. This day my Lord Loudon went off for Albany. This day our Regt. was ordered to march from this Fort into the Half Moon. We marched about 4 miles.

Nov. 11. We marched about 5 miles below Saratoga and then encamped.

Nov. 12. Marched down to Stillwater.

Nov. 14. We marched down to Half moon.

Nov. 17. We keep this day as Thanksgiving day for we heard that it was so in our Province.

Nov. 18. This day 360 of us were drafted to stay, and the rest sent home. We were drafted into four

¹ Lord Loudon. He is thus described in official documents: "His Excellency, John, Earl of Loudon, Lord Machline and Tairanfeen, etc., etc., etc., one of the sixteen peers of Scotland, governor and captain general of Virginia and vice admiral of the same, colonel of the 13th regiment of foot, colonel-in-chief of the Royal American Regiment, major general and commander-in-chief of all his majesty's forces raised or to be raised in North America." Had command in America from August, 1756 till March, 1758.

Companies under Capt. Kerver, Capt. Nelson, Capt. Cain, Lieut. Brown. Capt. Kerver's Company winter at Halfmoon; Nelson's at Sopas; Cairn's at Schenectady; Brown's into which Lieut. Walker (went) with Capt. Learned's Company, to winter at Stillwater.

Nov. 26. Lieut. Brown marched our Company to Stillwater. But I and 4 more were left to work as carpenters at the Half-Moon. This day I went to work.

Dec. y^e 15. 5 Frenchmen brought down that were taken by Major Rogers' men.

Dec. 22. We were ordered down to Albany to Receive our Pay.

Dec. 23. Received our Pay.

Dec. 24. Returned home to Half-moon.

Dec. 29. Returned to Stillwater, with the rest of the Carpenters, to our Company.

Jan. y^e 1, 1758. This day being the first day of the year & the first day of the week, we kept it with joy, and wished for Candlemas.

Jan. ye 5. Capt. Learned came up to his Company, at the coming of whom we rejoiced greatly.

Feb. 1. This day I went on command to Saratoga, to guard cattle.

Feb. 2. This day we returned home to Stillwater, and now the day was come that we wished for, and the most happy Candlemas that ever I see. Quick after our return we were all ordered into the Fort,

when Capt, Skean¹ read a part of a letter to us, that Major General Abercrombie sent to him, the contents of which was this. You are hereby required to persuade the Massachusetts (men) that are under your care to tarry a few days longer, till I shall hear from

¹ Philip Skene was a native of Halyards in Fifeshire, Scotland, and was a descendant of Sir William Wallace. He entered the army in 1739 and was with the expedition against Portobello; in 1741 was at the capture of Carthegena; in 1745 was in the battle of Fontenoy, and was at Culloden in the following year. In 1747 he was present at the battle of Laffeldt. He came to America in 1756. In 1757 he was made commander of a company in the 27th or Enniskillen regiment. He was in the unsuccessful attack on Ticonderoga, 1758. In the campaign of 1759 he was appointed by Sir Jeffry Amherst brigade major. In October of that year he was left in charge of Crown Point and encouraged by Amherst, projected a settlement at the head of Lake Champlain and established some thirty families there. In 1762 he was with the expedition against Martinique, Havana, and distinguished himself at the storming of Moro Castle. He returned to America in 1763 and renewed his efforts to build up the settlement at Lake Champlain. In 1765 after a visit to England he obtained from the king a grant of a township of land including the settlement he had founded and which he called Skenesborough. His regiment having been ordered to Ireland he exchanged into the 10thth Foot in 1768 to remain in America. In 1769 he left the army and settled at Skenesborough (now Whitehall). He erected here forges for smelting iron and large saw mills. At the outbreak of the revolution he was arrested by a band of Connecticut volunteers and with his family taken to Hartford. He was finally exchanged in 1776. He sailed for England im-

their government, to know what the government intends to do with them. To these orders, there was answer made by some of our Company, that they looked upon him to be a good soldier, that tarried till his time was out; and that the Province had no business to detain us any longer; neither would we be detained any longer by any power that they could raise. He told us that if any man had been duly enlisted into His Majesty's service and should leave the same, without a Regular Discharge, he should Suffer Death. We told him we did not value that, for according to our Enlistment, neither they nor the Province could hold us any longer, and that we did not break the Court Act by going off.

Feb. 3. About three o'clock in the morning we marched for Stillwater, in all 70 persons with about three days Provisions, in order to go Hoosack where we expected to arrive in two days. We all marched on snow shoes and the foremost man sunk in half leg deep; about the tenth man had good travelling. We marched about 18 miles this day and then encamped. This night it was a very bad Snow storm.

mediately but returned with Burgoyne and was taken prisoner with his army. In 1779 his property was confiscated by the Legislature of New York. After the war he came to America and made an unsuccessful effort to recover his property. He returned to England and died at Addersey Lodge near Stoke Goldington, Bucks in 1810.—*See Colonial History New York Documents.*

Feb 4. We marched up the river to Dutch Hoosack when we missed our way and travelled on the River called Loonstock (?) River, which we learn since comes down within about 10 miles west of Hoosack Fort. In our march in this River this day Capt. Learned¹ killed two turkeys. We travelled on this River till night, not mistrusting that we were wrong, and yet wondered that we did not arrive at Hoosack; but had no mistrust that we were on the wrong River and therefore ate plentifully of our Provisions, and of the Turkeys.

Feb 5. Set out early in the morning with the expectation to get into Hoosack Fort before noon, but missed all our Expectations, for we did not see it this night. And now we were altogether of the mind that we were lost; but yet were Resolved to be Certain before we turned our course. We killed another turkey this day which we spared for necessity. This night our provisions was chiefly gone. We encamped this night with sad hearts and the countenance of every man shewed he was perplexed in mind, in consideration that the turkey was the chief of the Pro-

¹In his Memoirs General Putnam censures Capt. Learned very severely for his conduct in leaving his post with his men before they were regularly discharged. He also says that Capt. Learned was never afterward able "to obtain a commission during that war." The History of the town of Sutton says that Capt. Learned served long and suffered much and returned with a commission of major.

vision that we had. The weather exceeding cold and stormy and the snow at least 5 feet deep. And John Kelly, of our Company, fell into the River this day when he lost one of his snowshoes, by reason of which he suffered very much. But yet we had some hopes that we should see Hoosack in the morning.

Feb. 6. We marched up this stream till about noon and then we came to where the stream parted; the stream yesterday and today steered about North and there was a Branch came into it that came from the East. When we came to this place we found that we were lost, but yet for our Satisfaction the Capt. followed up the North Stream about 4 miles till we found we were on the wrong Stream and then turned Back and came to the Parting of the Streams; when the Capt. called all the men together, to know what they would do. There was in No. 70 men. The substance of what the Capt. sd. was this: That it evidently appeared that we were on the wrong stream; and that we were at least, 30 miles north of Hoosack; and as for provisions, we had but little, but sd he don't be discouraged; for, my life on it sd he, if the men hold out to travel four or five days if I don't bring you to see the Inhabitants of New England. But said he, if any man has a mind to go back to Stillwater, he may in welcome; for my part said he, I will die in the woods before I will go back. They all cried out, that they would die with him. So after refreshing ourselves a little we marched off a South

East Point and traveled up several Mountains, and about Sundown we came upon the top of a very large mountain, which seemed to be the height of land, and now we were satisfied whereabouts we were. We judged ourselves to be 30 miles northeast of Hoosack. The weather was exceeding cold, and the snow five feet deep and the provisions very short.

Feb. 7. This morning thirty of us made a good Breakfast of a small poor turkey without salt or bread; and now our provision was gone. In about 5 miles from where we Lodged, we came upon a Small Stream descending toward the South East, at the seeing of which we were all very much rejoiced; there seemed to be a smiling countenance on all the Company, to think that we were got on the Borders of New England. And on our way down this stream, there were several small streams come into it, so that it got to be a large River. This night we camped but felt exceeding faint for want of victuals, but yet our Courage held out. At present Courage was the only thing we had to support us, except it was Beech buds and some high swamp Cranberries.

Feb. 8. This day we had exceeding bad travelling all day, and the River turned contrary to our expectations; so that we had but little hopes of getting into any Post these some days. It was now exceeding stormy weather and heavy travelling, only on the River when the Ice would bear; and had we not had

some relief by that means, we had all perished in the woods. About Sundown we came to camp and being exceeding faint, living without victuals some days and we having a large dog with us we killed him and divided him among 70 men, giving every man his equal share. None can tell what a sweet morsel this dog's guts and feet were but those that eat them as I did the feet and the riddings of the guts.

Feb. 9. This day we had better travelling on the River and it seemed to steer the way we wanted, and about noon we came to where some trees were cut for shingles, and at night we came to where one of our men knew the ground, and told the Capt. we were within three miles of Hawk's Fort, on the Charlemont; notwithstanding the Capt. would not go on because a great part of the men had froze their feet, and were at least two miles behind. But we went to Camping, and the Capt. and James Call, who knew the ground went down the river about a mile till the Capt. was Satisfied the man knew as much as he pretended, and then sent him on, and ordered him to have a breakfast prepared in the morning; after which the Capt. returned back to us by which time those lame men came up, and as the Capt. came up to us, we were all very zealous to hear what news? But we soon learned by the Captain's countenance, before he got within some rods of us and as the Capt. come up to us, he said. Eat what you

you have to eat this night; for the promised land is just by. Some were for going on this night, but the Capt. told them; No, by no means, for it would hazard the lives of a great many. The news that the Capt. brought raised the Spirits of all the men, so that those whose Countenance looked sad, were brought to a very smiling Complection.

Feb. 10. This morning we set out on our march, and about one mile from where we camped, we saw three men a-coming up the River which we were glad to see, and when they come to us, we found that one of them was the man we sent on the night before and he brought out some bread and meat boiled; which we recd. very Kindly, and about ten o'clock we came into Hawk's Fort on Charlemont, where we Refreshed ourselves until about noon; after which we marched to Rice's Fort about one mile, where twenty of us stayed, all which were lame by reason of their feet being froze on our march except Samuel Dexter.¹ Lemuel Cobb, and myself. Through all this march I brought Ichabod Dexter's pack, because he froze his feet before we set out from Stillwater, and I tarried to help him along further.²

¹ Samuel Dexter and Ichabod Dexter were from Hardwick, both commissioned officers in Revolutionary war, both were engaged in Shay's rebellion, 1786, and were pardoned.—*See Paige's Hist. Hardwick.*

² See letter in Appendix.

Feb. 11. The 20 of us that were left behind marched down to Galon's Fort about 6 mile.

Feb. 12. Marched to Deerfield.

Feb. 13. Marched to Hadley.

Feb. 14. Marched to Greenwich.

Feb. 15. Home to Brookfield.

RUFUS PUTNAM.

PUTNAM'S JOURNAL,
1758.



Putnam's Journal, 1758.

RUFUS PUTNAM'S JOURNAL for the Second Campaign which he undertook, being in the year 1758.

April 10, 1758. Then enlisted myself into a Provincial Regt. of whom Timothy Ruggles Esq. is Col., and in Capt. Joseph Whitcomb's Company.

April 14. Passed muster at Hardwick before Col. Ruggles.

April 15. Returned to Sutton where I now made my home; but I went into the service this year for the town of Hardwick.

May 20. Received orders to meet the Comp'y at Brookfield on the 23.—23^d, Met the Comp'y at Brookfield.

May 25. Marched from Brookfield.

May 27. Arrived at Northampton, where we were billeted out till further orders.

June 3. Marched from Northampton in order for Pantoosuck. This day marched about ten miles, and

this night there were some of Capt. Nixon's¹ men a falling some trees, to build their camps, fell a tree onto some men as they were in another camp, and wounded three of them. One of the men that was wounded, his life is despaired of.

June 6. We arrived at Pantoosuck and drew stores of bread and marched about six miles to the other Fort; from thence about one mile and then Camped.

June 8. Arrived at Greenbush, where we heard that General Abercrombie² marched his Troops from Albany yesterday.

¹ Capt. John Nixon was born at Framingham, Mass., March 4th, 1725. He was at the siege of Louisburg in 1745. He served as captain during the French war and was esteemed a valiant soldier. He was made colonel of a Massachusetts regiment at the outbreak of the revolution and brigadier general in the continental line in August, 1776. Resigned on account of ill health in 1780. Died March 24th, 1815.—*Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution.*

² James Abercrombie, born in Scotland, 1706; died deputy governor of Stirling Castle, April 28th, 1781; colonel in British army, 1746; major general, 1756; lieut. general, 1759; general, 1772. Had chief command of royal forces in America from 1756 until 1759, except during the stay of Lord Loudon. Was superseded by Amherst, Sept. 30th, 1758. Displayed very little capacity in command of troops. The disaster of Ticonderoga in 1758 was generally attributed to his incompetence. He was a member of parliament after his return to England in 1759 and supported the acts, the passage of which resulted in the revolt of the colonies.—*Drake.*

June 9. Marched to Albany Flats.

June y^e 12. A return was made of all the Carpenters in Col. Ruggle's Regt. and all, being about Eighty, were sent off under the Command of Lieut Pool; in order to go to Fort Miller, marched this day to Half Moon.

June 13. Marched to Stillwater and from thence by water to Saratoga.

June 14. Marched to Fort Miller.

June 15. Went to work at Fort Miller.

June 16. Thirty of us marched to Fort Edward, under the command of Lieut. Hall.

June 17. Went to work on the Island at the King's Hospitals and worked there till June 21.

June 21. Received ten days provisions and marched to Halfway Brook.

June 22. Marched to the Lake and was there employed in building two Picket Forts, in building floating batteries, and in fixing the boats. June 18 was the first that any forces came to the Lake.

June 26. General Abercrombie came to the Lake. Forces came on now very fast.

June 28. Col. Ruggle's Regt. came to the Lake. Every thing here seems to carry the face of war on it. Ammunitions, Provisions and Artillery &c loading continually into the bateaux in order for Ticonderoga.

July y^e 1. Camp at Lake George. The orders of this day; Parole, Hartford; Brig^d Gen'l for the

day, tomorrow Lord How; Col. for the day tomorrow, Col. Donaldson; Field Officer of the Picket this night, Major Eyre;¹ for the Provincials, Major Hunt; Brig^d Maj. Money-penny.² The Provincial Troops to be victualed to the sixth of July inclusive when they next receive. Any soldier found gaming to be immediately confined, & they will Receive 300 Lashes. The Provost to go his Rounds every day. He is to see that the Camp be kept clean, and all filth buried; he is to apply to the nearest Regt. for men for that purpose; and to report all extraordinary.

¹ William Eyre was promoted to be major in the 44th Foot, 7th January, 1756; in which year he built Fort William Henry, at the head of Lake George; in January, 1758, was commissioned engineer in ordinary, and on the 17th July following was advanced to the rank of lieutenant colonel in the army, and next of the 55th regiment; in July, 1759, during Amherst's campaign, he was appointed chief engineer to the army, and soon after laid out the ground for a new fort at Ticonderoga. In October, 1759, he became lieutenant colonel of his old regiment, the 44th; accompanied Amherst from Oswego to Montreal in 1760, and remained in America until 1764, in the fall of which year he was unfortunately drowned, in the prime of his life, on his passage to Ireland."—*New York Colonial History*, vol. x, p. 729.

² Alexander Moneypenny, appointed captain Aug. 29, 1756, assigned to 55th Foot in Feb., 1757 and sailed to America in the expedition with Lord Loudon. He was one of the brigade majors in this and the succeeding campaign. Was major 27th Foot in 1760; lieutenant colonel 56th in 1762. Died or resigned his commission in 1776.

The Regt. to give a Return of their sick to be sent to Fort Edward at four o'clock this afternoon. Advance to apply to the Qrs Master Genl. for carriages; the commanding officer of each Regt. to be answerable that they have no more Battoes than what is allowed them in the orders; what they have over to be immediately returned. The Regiments to Report to the Brig^d. Maj. as soon as the Battoes are finished, and ready to load. They are then to dismiss the Corkers with a non-commissioned officer to Col. Bradstreet. The Regulars and Provincials to give in their return immediately to the Brig^d. Maj. of what ammunition is wanting to complete every man with 36 Rounds per man. A guard of one subaltern and 20 privates to mount immediately at the Artillery Boats. Capt. Ord¹ will give the Officer his directions. The battoes

¹ Thomas Ord was appointed captain in the royal artillery on 1st March, 1746. He was an excellent officer, and stood high in the Duke of Cumberland's esteem, by whom he was selected to command the artillery in the expedition under Braddock. Landing in Newfoundland, he hastened to New York, and arrived at Philadelphia, 7th June, 1755, whence he proceeded for the seat of war accompanied by 13 non-commissioned officers (*Sargent's Expedition of Braddock*, 364). In 1759 he was major and accompanied Amherst in the expedition up the lakes, after which he was promoted to be lieutenant colonel on the 21st November, same year. On the 1st January, 1771, he became colonel commandant of the 4th battalion of the royal artillery serving in America, and died in

men (to) make no fire between their tents and the Lake where the Artillery Boats lie. Capt. Shepherds Company to fire Pieces this afternoon, between 3 & 5 o'clock ; the Regiments may try their Rifles at the same time.

July 2. The orders given yesterday were complied with.

July 3. Every man ordered to be ready to embark on the 5th at the Drums Beating and to boil all our provisions before we set out ; which were taken until the ninth day.

July 4. All preparations (made) for embarking tomorrow. All ordered to put our heaviest Baggage on Board this night.

July 5. According to the orders heretofore given, the whole Army embarked for Ticonderoga, under the command of Maj. Gen. Abercrombie¹ and there

1777. Col. Ord received a grant of 500 acres of land in Newcomb, Essex Co., New York, for his service in America.—*Col. Hist. New York, Documents*, vol. viii, p. 529.

¹ In his Memoirs General Putnam says of the officers in command :

“ General Abercrombie was an old man and frequently called granny.

“ Lord Howe was the idol of the army ; in him they placed the utmost confidence.

* * * * * General Gage was a man who never acquired a high reputation, and the furious Bradstreet was hated by all the army.”

were in all 24 Regiments; but in them but 17000 according to the account that we had from the Adjutant Genl. The embarkation was completed by seven o'clock in the morning and all rowed to a place called Sabbath Day Point, when we arrived about dark, and all went on shore and refreshed ourselves. After which we set out and Rowed all night.

July 6. And in the morning we arrived to a place within about 4 miles of the French advance guard.¹ When we came in sight of the Enemy at the advance guard, (they) were wonderfully surprised to see so many men a-coming in Battoes, and immediately fled so that we had no chance at them there. Col. Dotey and the Battoe men went in the front in whale boats, and landed first; but were soon seconded by Troops of all sorts. Col. Ruggles Regiment landed the nearest of any to the Enemy, and in fair sight of their encampment. At this place Major Rogers killed one Frenchman and that was all. The Enemy left a considerable of valuable Baggage, which our men plundered. Part of our People had a smart skirmish with

¹ "The French guard ran at our appearance. Major Roger's Rangers came up with part of the French guard, killed 7 of them, lost 2 of our men. In the afternoon engaged the French, took 180 of them prisoners and killed 110 more. Lord Howe was killed in the battle and about 60 of our men a-missing."

Journal of an officer (name unknown) in Col. Preble's regiment.—*Dawson's Historical Magazine*, August, 1871,

the Enemy, down the Lake, in which skirmish we lost but few men, but among them a Brave and Bold Commander, that worthy man, my Lord Howe,¹ who is lamented by us all, and whose Death calls for our Revenge. There were a great many of the enemy killed that day, and one hundred and odd taken Prisoners.

July 7. The chief of the Army march down to the Saw-Mills, and some Field Pieces. Our chief employ

¹ George Augustus Howe, Lord Viscount, was born in 1724. He was commissioned colonel of the Royal American or 60th regiment, in 1757 and ordered to America. In September, 1757, he was appointed colonel of the 55th Foot and brigadier general in America. The failure of the expedition against Ticonderoga was by many attributed to his death. *Rogers' Journal* (page 103) gives this account of it. "My Lord Howe, with a detachment from his front, had broke the enemy and hemmed them in on every side; but advancing himself with great eagerness and intrepidity upon them, was unfortunately shot and died immediately." A foot note, same page, adds: "This noble and brave officer, being universally beloved by both officers and soldiers of the army, his fall was not only most sincerely lamented, but seemed to produce an almost general consternation and languor through the army."

"The greatness of mind, inimitable activity and masterly skill in military command of this truly great officer (Lord Howe) was known, was felt by the whole army, and his death was assensibly felt."—*Sermon on "Total reduction of Canada,"* Rev. Eli Forbes, Brookfield, Mass.

The date of Lord Howe's death is sometimes incorrectly given July 5th. He was with the battalion of rangers commanded by Israel Putnam when killed.

was in fixing for an engagement the next day. Nothing at all appeared of any discouragement, but everything seemed to carry success with it. This night General Johnson¹ came down with his Indians,² to us.³

July 8. All preparations for marching down to engage the Enemy at the Breast-work which we found was chiefly finished. About 11 o'clock our men marched down to the Battle. There were also some Field pieces went down the River toward the Fort, on Floating Batteries which our men builded below the Falls. How far these Field Pieces went, I am not able to say. Col. Lyman's and Col. Ruggles' Regiments were

¹ Sir William Johnson, Baronet, born in Ireland about 1714. At the age of 20 came to America to oversee the estate of his uncle, Sir Peter Warren. He settled in Mohawk, among the Indians, acquired their language and soon obtained a remarkable influence over them. In the French war, 1755-65 he was major general of the New York militia and brought into service for the English, one thousand Indians. He died in 1774.

² "By sunrise next morning (July 8th) Sir William Johnson joined the army with four hundred and fifty Indians."—*Rogers Journal*, p. 103.

³ Humphrey's life of Israel Putnam says that on the morning of July 7th, Major Rogers was sent to reconnoitre the field where Lord Howe was killed "and bring off the wounded prisoners; but, finding the wounded unable to help themselves, in order to save trouble, he dispatched every one of them to the world of spirits."

left at the Mills as a Rear guard, and to build a Breast-work in, or for Defence if the Enemy attacked us in the Rear. There was a party of Col. Ruggles' Regiment sent down under the Command of Lieut. Williams, to carry powder and about 3 o'clock Col. Lyman's Regiment was called off to the Battle. About Sun an Hour high, there was another Party sent down to carry powder, under the command of Ensign Brown, among whom I was. When I came to the Army they were Retreated into a Breast-work that Col. Williams¹ men had builded. I was very

¹ William Williams, born in Western Mass., 1711; graduated at Harvard College, 1729; studied medicine, but soon abandoned the practice and established himself as a merchant in Boston. Failed in business in 1740; was commissioned ensign and took part in the unsuccessful expedition against St. Augustine.

With the same rank in the following year he was in the expedition against Carthagera led by Admiral Vernon. He returned to Massachusetts in 1743, and in 1744 received a commission in Stoddard's regiment of Hampshire militia and was detailed to construct the line of forts between the Connecticut and Hudson rivers. While this work was in progress he was promoted major. In 1745 he was commissioned lieut. colonel of the 8th Massachusetts regiment and sailed for Cape Breton June 23d. Louisburg capitulated before his arrival, but the regiment garrisoned the place till the spring of 1746. In 1747 Col. Williams was detached as quartermaster and continued in that capacity till the close of the war in 1748. He settled in Pontoosuck (now Pittsfield) in 1753 and there built Fort Anson for protection against the Indians. In 1755 he was

much amazed to see so many of our men killed and wounded. The path all the way was full of wounded men. I was much amazed to see the floating Batteries Rowing back, the meaning of which, I could not tell. I came to the Regiment where I found them employed as before. The most of the Troops retreated into the Breast (-work) which we had builded. After proper guards were posted, we were ordered to refresh ourselves, which we accordingly did, and then camped. About midnight we were all mustered and ordered to march—where ; we knew not ; but concluded we were

appointed captain in the regiment commanded by Sir William Pepperell. He served with the rank of captain three campaigns; further promotion being prevented by a personal difficulty with Sir Wm. Johnson. In 1758 he was commissioned colonel by Governor Pownal and commanded a regiment in the campaign against Ticonderoga. With this campaign, his military career ended. In 1759 he was chosen "Proprietor's clerk" of the town of Pontoosuck and continued many years in that office. He was representative to the General Court in 1762, 1764, 1769, 1770. In 1774 he was chief justice of the Common Pleas and judge of the Probate for Berkshire. He was slow to join in the revolt of the colonies, but after the revolution was fairly under way became an ardent patriot. In 1779 he was chosen delegate to the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention and took an active part in its deliberations. He died in 1785. Major Stoddard summed up his married life thus: "He married, first Miriam Taylor for good sense, and got it; secondly, Miss Wells for love and beauty and had it; thirdly, Aunt Hannah Dickerson and got horribly cheated."—*See Smith's History of Pittsfield.*

a-going to take Post on the hill East of Ticonderoga ; but it proved otherwise, for we marched directly to the advance guard where our battoes lay.¹

July 9. About nine o'clock in the morning we all went on Board our Battoes and set out for the place where Fort Wm. Henry stood, and arrived about Sundown.

During our stay at the Lake, after our Return from Fort Ticonderoga we were employed in almost everything, in the building of Breast-works — and moving of our encampment from one place to another — had hardly time to pitch in one place before we were ordered to remove and pitch in another ; and no body, to see us, would be able to tell what we were about.

July 20. Near the Half-way Brook, was Killed by a party of Indians, Capt. Sam'l Dakin of Sudborough, Capt. Lawrence of Groton, Capt. Johns of Wilmington, Lieut. Curtis of Sudbury, Lieut. Godfrey of Billerica,

¹ Speaking of this campaign in his Mss. Memoirs, General Putnam says: "I have heard that some men should say they loved to fight as well as to eat. I never had any such feelings. So far as I am able to judge of myself, it was pride and a wish to excel, or, at least, to come behind none, which influenced me, at that period of my life, to be among the foremost on all occasions that offered." He also criticises the assault as follows :

"When I subsequently became acquainted with the strength of the works and the mode of attack, I considered it the most injudicious and wanton sacrifice of men that ever came within my knowledge or reading."

Ensign Davis of Andover, two Sergeants, one Corporal and ten men, and five missing.

July 22. Col. Ruggles' Regiment marched to Fort Edward.

July 23. Marched down about 4 miles and then encamped and went to mending the Roads.

July 25. Two Hundred of the Light Infantry marched down by our encampment to Stillwater.

July 28. Marched down within about three miles of Saratoga to a place called Lord Howe's Encampment. Received news that yesterday there was a party of Indians fell on some teams that were going from Fort Edward to Half-way Brook, where they killed 25 men and thirty-eight Teams.

August 7. This day moved our camp three miles below Saratoga.

Do 12. Moved three miles down the River.

Do 17. Marched down to the Half-Moon, and there went to our old post, of mending the Road.

Do 27. Being Sabbath Day, we were very unexpectedly, allowed to Rest; and it was the only Sabbath that we were allowed to Rest since we came from home.¹

¹ The journal of an officer of Col. Preble's regiment, this day, reads: "I did not work this day. Went to meeting. Mr. Cleveland preached two sermons from 146th Psalm, 5 verse." He had previously complained of being compelled to work Sundays.

Do 28. Moved our camp up the River about 5 miles to Half-way house.

September y^e 5. Moved our Camp up the River to Capt. Samson's, which was about 3 miles.

Do 14. Capt. Cox¹ marched his Company to Lowden's Ferry, joined by Capt. Billings and six Carpenters, to work on the Roads from thence to Albany.

Do 20. Capt. Read's Company with the rest of the Carpenters marched up to the Great Fly, about 5 miles above Still-Water.

Do 25. The Regiment marched down to Half Moon to mend the Roads from thence to Albany. Capt. Whitcombs Company tarried behind to repair the Roads that we had mended before.

Do 29. Our Company marched to Lowden's Ferry, where we went to work as usual.

October ye 4th. His Excellency Gen'l Amherst² went up by our Camp to the Lake.

¹ Capt. Ebenezer Cox of Wrentham. He commanded a company in each of the campaigns of 1758, 1759, 1760 and 1761. In 1762 removed to Hardwick and commanded a company mainly from Hardwick in that year. He had probably served previous to 1758, for his tombstone declares that he

"In six campaigns intrepid trod ye field
Nor to ye Gallic power would ever yield."

He died March 2d, 1768, aged 42.—See *Paige's History Hardwick*.

² Jeffrey Amherst, baron, born Kent, England, Jan. 29, 1717; died Aug. 3d, 1797. Entered British army as ensign at the

Do 8. We joined our Regiment at the Half-Moon and marched from thence to the Great Fly above Stillwater.

Do 13. Capt. Robeson,¹ with a detachment of Subalterns, 5 sergeants, 15 Corporals, 88 privates, marched up to the first Camp we made below Fort Edward, when we came from Lake George — where we went to repairing the Roads as usual.

Do 14. The Indians killed and took three men at Saratoga and another was drowned as he was endeavoring to swim over the River. A party of men marched with us, consisting of 50, to Saratoga Meadows for the same purpose.

Do 16. A great No. of Invalids was sent home from the Lake, and this day marched by our Camp.

Do 18. Col. Bradstreet's² Battoe men marched down

age of 14. Was at Fontenoy as aide to Lord Ligonier. Appointed major general in 1756. Appointed commander-in chief of the royal forces in America, Sept. 30th, 1758, *vice* Abercrombie. Governor of Virginia, 1763; of Guernsey in 1771; commander-in-chief of British army, 1778 to 1795, field marshal, 1796. He was "a sagacious, humane and experienced commander."—*See Drake's Dictionary American Biography.*

¹ This is probably Captain Samuel Robinson of Hardwick, who commanded a company in each of the campaigns of 1755, 1758, 1759 and was also in the service in some capacity in 1757.—*See Paige's History Hardwick.*

² Col. John Bradstreet, born 1711; died in New York city, Sept. 25th, 1774. Was lieutenant colonel of Maine Regt., in

by our Camp to carry provisions up the Mohawk River to the German Flats.

(October) 24. This day Col. Preble,¹ Col. Nichols and Col. Wm. Williams' Regiments marched down by our Camp, in order for home.

Do 26. Col. Partridge's Regiment marched home.

Do 27. Our detachment marched down and joined their Regiment at the Great Fly. Gen'l Abercrombie went down to Stillwater this night.

Do 28. Our Regiment marched down to Albany where we arrived the 29th and drew stores for our march home and crossed the River at Green Bush.

the expedition against Louisburg in 1745; lieut. governor, St. Johns, Newfoundland, 1746; capt. in 60th Regt. British army, March, 1749; lieut. colonel and deputy quarter master general Dec., 1757; colonel in Feb., 1762. Commanded expedition against western Indians in 1764. He attained marked distinction as an officer; but his violent temper made him as much feared by his friends as hated by his enemies.

¹ Jedediah Preble, born Wells, Maine, 1707, died Portland, Maine, March 11th, 1784. Early in life was a sailor; appointed captain in Waldo's regiment, 1746; lieutenant colonel, 1755; Colonel, March 13th, 1758; brigadier general, March 12th, 1759. Was 12 years member of the legislature. Massachusetts commissioned him major general at the outbreak of the revolution; but he declined on account of his age. Judge of Common Pleas in 1778. Member state senate in 1780.

The journal of a captain in Col. Preble's regiment for the campaign of 1758 is published in *Dawson's Historical Magazine*, Aug., 1871.—See *Drake's Dictionary American Biography*.

Do 30. Marched down to Kinder-hook.

Do 31. Marched to Lovejoy's, about 20 miles.

November y^e 1. Marched to No 1— 18 miles.

Do 2. Marched through the Green Woods to Glasscow — 18 miles.

Do 3. From Glasscow to Springfield — 20 miles.

Do 4th. Marched to Ware River to Landlord Scotts.

Do 5. Marched about 8 miles; where we tarried all day, because of the Rains.

Do 6. Marched to Brookfield. Tarried at Brookfield until the 8th then marched to Sutton to Mr. Trasks.

Do 9th. Arrived at Brother Amos Putnam's.

RUFUS PUTNAM.

PUTNAM'S JOURNAL,
1759.



Putnam's Journal, 1759.

RUFUS PUTNAM'S JOURNAL for the year 1759.

April 2d. Then enlisted I, myself, into y^o Provincial Service for the 3d Campaign at Sutton.¹

(April) 9. Passed Muster at Worcester, I was put under the Command of Sam'l Clark Paine² Capt. and was ordered to appear at Worcester the 12th Instant.

Do 12. Appeared at Worcester and was ordered to appear there the 13th.

Do 13. Appeared at Worcester and was ordered to appear there the 16th.

Do 16. Appeared at Worcester and received orders that we should all be billeted out; but obtained the favor to return home and stand at a mi^{ts} Warning.

Do 21. Being at Worcester, I obtained leave to Billet with Capt. Paige's men at Brookfield.

¹ He enlisted as a substitute for Moses Leland, who had been drafted. For this enlistment he received fourteen pounds, thirteen shillings, Massachusetts currency, or \$45.50.—*Hildreth's Lives of the Pioneers.*

² Samuel Clark Paine of Worcester, died in December, 1759.

May 3. Capt. Paige¹ marched for Springfield and ordered me to Hardwick to fetch the Brig^d Baggage to Brookfield and to wait till the teams came up from Worcester.

Do 11. Marched to Capt. Days in Springfield with the Baggage Cart.

Do 12. Marched to Capt. White's in Springfield and passed muster before Capt. Wheelock.

Do 14. Passed muster before Lieut. Small² of the Highland Regiment, also the 11 Company that marched from Worcester came to town.

Do 15. Drawed stores for eight days, and marched to Westfield.

Do 16. Marched to Glasscow.

May 17. Marched into the Green Woods, with our teams and baggage and arrived within about 4 miles

¹ Capt. Paige appointed Putnam orderly sergeant, he was in the 1st battalion of Ruggles' regiment, commanded by Lieut. Col. Ingersoll.

² Jno. Small was born in Scotland in 1726. Died at Guernsey in 1796. Served in America during the French and Indian war, as lieutenant in 42d Highlanders. Served in the West Indies in 1762. June 14th, 1775, appointed major of a company of Highlanders raised in Nova Scotia for service in the English army during the American revolution. At Bunker Hill General Israel Putnam saved Maj. Small's life by throwing up the muskets of the men who were about to shoot him. Maj. Small was promoted to lieut. colonel in 1780, colonel 1790, major general 1794, lieut. governor of Guernsey in 1793.

and $\frac{1}{2}$ of Chaddock. This night it rained exceeding hard which made it very tedious lodging.

Do 18. Marched to Sheffield where our teams were dismissed.

Do 19. We had a recruit of other teams,— soon loaded our baggage again, and we marched to Lovejoys.

Do 20. Marched to Kinderhook.

Do 21. Marched to Greenbush, where we unloaded our Carts, and put our Stores into Capt. Dows' Barn.

May 22. Crossed the River and Camped on Albany hill.

Do 23. Drawed our Tents and pitched them.

Do 24. A weekly return made of the men on this side the River were all mustered before a Major of the Regulars. The other Companies that belonged to each Battalion, under the command of Brig^d Genl. Ruggles, came over the River and encamped. This night at Roll Calling we had the Articles of War read to us.

May 25. The other Companies that came in belonging to Col. Ruggles were mustered and the Battalions were properly encamped. Sergt. Lackey of Capt. Baldwin's Company, was taken up by the Regulars as a Deserter from their Troops at Halifax.

Do 29. This day Saml. Harris of the Rhode Island Regiment was shot for desertion. David Rogers, of the same Regt. condemned to be shot, for the same

crime, was pardoned. This day a detachment from all the Provincial Troops marched up the Mohawk River in order to Battoe up that River. The detachment consisted of Cpts. 8; Subs. 15; Sergts. 21; Rank & file 554. This day the following Detachment from Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey Troops for to carry Battoes to Half-Moon loaded with provisions; Cpts. 2; Subs. 10; Sergt. 10; Rank & file 250.

May 30. The following Detachment from the Massachusetts, Connecticut, N. Jersey Troops for Half Moon tomorrow morning to take up provision. Capt., 2; Subs. 8; Sergt, 8: Rank & file, 200. The Rhode Island Regiment this day marched for Fort Edward.

June y^e 1. Marched this day from Albany in order for Fort Edward, or rather embarked in bateaux and arrived this night at Half-Moon. We had in all 80 bateaux; 20 barrels in each bateaux.

Do 2. Set up the River as far as the Half way house where we encamped.

Do 3. We set our boats as far as Capt. Samsons where we unloaded our boats and took our boats up the falls to Stillwater, where we loaded our bateaux again and lodged about half a mile above the Fort.

June 4. Proceeded with our boats as far as Saratoga falls where we unloaded our boats and the Provisions were taken up in waggons, as far as Lord Howes Encampment, about 3 miles.

Do 5. Loaded our boats again, and proceeded up the River as far as Fort Miller, where we unloaded our provisions, drew our boats out of the River, loaded them on carriages, carried them by the falls, put them in the water, loaded our provisions again and proceeded as far as Fort Edward the same day, where we arrived about sun-down with the boat that I was in. There arrived but about 30 boats this night.

Do 6. Lay at Fort Edward, and the boats that were left behind came up.

Do 7. The ground for our encampment was marked out; but it was exceeding rainy, for which reason it could not be cleared.

June 8. Our people were all set to work to clear the ground for our encampment, and we moved our tents and pitched them.

Do 10. Although the encampment was cleared; yet our men were still on fatigue; some cutting off stumps, and all manner of duty going forward. Cannons bringing out of the Fort and mounting on Carriages.

Do 13. A detachment of 400 men of the Provincials ordered to join the Royal Highlanders tomorrow morning, and march with them under the Command of Col. Grant¹ to Half way Brook. A detachment of

¹ Francis Grant, lieutenant colonel 42d Highlanders. He served in America from 1756 to 1762, was promoted colonel, 1762. Major general in 1770. Lieutenant general in 1777. Died in 1782.

200 of our Regiment and 100 of the Jerseys, were ordered to relieve the garrison in the Forte. This day the Rev. Eli Forbes¹ came up as Chaplain to our Regiment.

June 15. This day the Bateaux (with) shot, shells, wadding and such kind of loading was sent off to the Half way Brook in abundance.

June 17. Received orders to strike our tents at two o'clock this afternoon and march to Half way Brook ; but, it being exceeding rainy, we R^d orders to the Contrary. About 9 o'clock this morning we received orders to strike our tents at Reveille Beating in the morning, and marched to Half way Brook.

¹ Eli Forbes was born in Westborough, Mass., Oct., 1726. He entered Harvard college in 1744. In 1745 he served as a private soldier in a short campaign against the French and Indians. He returned to his studies in the following year and graduated in 1751. He was ordained minister at Brookfield in 1752. In 1758 and again in 1759, he served as chaplain in the provincial regiment commanded by Col. Timothy Ruggles. In 1762 he established a christian church among the Oneida Indians. In March, 1776, having been unjustly accused of toryism, he was dismissed from the church at Brookfield. In June of the same year, he was installed pastor of the church at Gloucester where he remained until his death in 1804. Harvard college conferred the degree of doctor of divinity upon him, 1804. He was one of the early subscribers to the Ohio company but relinquished his share.

Do 18. The first Battalion of Col. Ruggles marched to Half way Brook under the command of Col. Ingersol.

Do 19. This morning every man in Camp was ordered on fatigue, there was not one man Excused.

On the 17th there was a flag or Truce came into Forte Edward, and this day they were sent back again to Ticonderoga.

July 1st. From the time that we came to this place till now, nothing remarkable; but bateaux, cannon and all kind of stores carrying up, forces marching daily to the Lake and duty exceeding hard.

July 2. We received news that the Indians this day killed 9 men and took 5 at Lake George.

July 4th. The Artillery was carried from Fort Edward to Lake George and was guarded by Col. Willard's Regiment of the Massachusetts. There was carried up 1062 barrels of powder. Col. Montgomery's Regiment marched up as a guard for the Artillery.

Do 7. We had the news that Capt. Jacobs¹ was cut off by the Enemy.

Do 12. We had news that Major Rogers had had an engagement with the Enemy, but the circumstances of it we have not yet heard.

¹ Jacobs was a captain of a company of Indians in Rogers battalion. He was a Mohegan. His Indian name was Nawapateoonks.

Do 13. We hear that Major Rogers had one man killed and another wounded in his skirmish but what damage he has done to the Enemy we can not tell.

Do 14. We marched to the Lake and at our arrival we found all the preparations possible for moving forward.

Do 18. All that marched into Camp yesterday, were ordered out and fired three Rounds by platoons.

Do 21. This morning at three o'clock we struck our tents through the whole army. About 7 o'clock the whole army embarked and sailed for Ticonderoga. This night we arrived within about 4 miles of the Landing place.

July 22. The army landed this morning about 6 o'clock. The Artillery landed about 10 O'clock on the same wharf that the French Army put theirs off Board in the year 1757. The Reddow¹ sailed in the front of the column which accounted 22, 4 prds & 6, six prds and a number of swivels. We landed without any

¹ Radeau; a raft made to carry artillery. This one was probably one of those built under the superintendence of the officer of Col. Preble's regiment, whose journal has been quoted from in these notes. He describes them Oct 20th, '58: "This day we launched 2 Raddows. The first is the following dimensions:

1st {	50 feet long	2 {	30 feet long
19 "	wide	7 "	wide
6 "	deep	3½ "	deep."

molestation from the Enemy. We never so much as see or heard one of them, till Major Rogers with some Rangers marched down to the Mills, where he found about 30 of them carelessly a picking of herbs or some such thing. He fired upon them, killed one and wounded another, which he took (and) took another unhurt. The first Column, part of them with Col. Ruggles (marched) to a point of land Sou-West of the Fort. The other part, viz: Major Rogers' Grenadiers and Light Infantry marched on to the Hills between the Mills and the Breast-work, and kept a guard advanced. Y^e 2nd column marched and lay to cover the roads from the Landing to the Mills in order to keep the communication clear.

Y^e 3^d column; part marched and lay on the Road for the same purpose, and the other part viz: the Jersey Regiment and Ruggles' first Battalion, were ordered to clear the trees that the French had fell in the Road to prevent our coming; and also to repair such places as wanted. Y^e 4th Column marched down to the Mills and part lay there and part joined Major Rogers. The first Battalion of Col. Ruggles, after clearing the Roads, marched back to the Landing & from thence, after refreshing themselves, marched down to the Mills and went to digging the Road part of the way from the Mill to the Fort, as far as our advance guard lay; in doing of which, some French and Indians came down within about 50 rods, and fired on us, but

did no hurt.¹ But we were ordered not to pay them so much regard as to fire at them, except they came nearer. Four field pieces were this night drawn up as far as our advanced posts. The first Battalion of Col. Ruggles this night marched back and lay on the Road.

July 23. Our people took possession of the French Breast-works and went to intrenching. The first Battalion of Col. Ruggles this day marched and took possession of a Hill, Nor-West of the Mills; and had 4 field pieces delivered to us, and soon had a strong Breast-work builded for our defence as this post was very much exposed provided the Enemy had any succor come to them. The Enemy this day kept a continual fire of cannon and mortars at our people in the Trenches, but did little hurt. This night there was a fire on some of the Regular Troops, in which there was an officer killed, and 12 men wounded.

July 24. This day Col. Townshend² was killed by a cannon ball. The French continued their fire on our people but did but little hurt.

¹ "The enemy kept out a scouting party with a body of Canadians and Indians, which killed several of our men and galled us prodigiously."—*Rogers' Journal*, p. 128.

² Col. Roger Townsend was Lord Amherst's adjutant general. A foot note to page 128, *Rogers' Journal*, says: "The brave and worthy Colonel Townshend was killed by a cannon ball from the enemy, whose fall was much lamented by the general."

Do 25. The Enemy's fire increased, but did no considerable damage ; neither were they much regarded by our people, who were very diligent in opening the Trenches. One hundred and sixty horses arrived this day, by which means the Artillery and stores were forwarded with great dispatch.

July 26. This day Capt. Willard by the Genls. orders went to building a Saw-Mill in the same place the French mill, we burnt last year, stood ; in which service I was employed as master. The Enemy's fire this day was vastly heavy. This day a party of Indians came to our post and killed and scalped James Wallis of Capt. Fletcher's Company in the first Battalion. This night the platforms of the Batteries were laid.

July 27. This morning about one o'clock, or before, the Enemy set fire to their magazine of powder blew up their Fort and run away by the light of the same. Also 19 Frenchmen deserted to our men.¹

July 28. The Indians came from Crown Point and killed an Ensign of the Rangers.

Aug. 4. The Army embarked for Crown Point and on their arrival there found it evacuated. I, being

¹ Rogers says under date July 26th: "About nine o'clock (at night) when I had got about half-way from the place where I had embarked, the enemy who had undermined their fort, sprung their mine, which blew up with a loud explosion; the enemy being all ready to embark on board their boats and make a retreat."

ordered to build the Mills at this place, and tarrying on that business, am not able to give any further account of the Army. During my stay at this place, which was till the first of December, I was very hardly fatigued, having the whole care of the work upon me. The business I performed faithfully in hopes of having a handsome reward; but was cheated of the whole except the wages of common men.

December 1st. Set out from the Saw Mills with Col. Miller and Capt. Foote and some other men in order for Fort George. Col. Miller had two horses and a chair; therefore for our safer passage, we took Bateaux and lashed them together. We had a small matter of provision and some liquor, the weather was calm and pleasant, and a great prospect of a quick passage. When we set out we had some wind; but about sun down, we came within about a mile of Sabbath-day Point and the wind failed; wherefore in the evening we altered our opinion of passing the Lake that night, and concluded to go ashore, make a fire, and there stay till morning unless the wind favored. But before morning we found to our sorrow, that the wind was changed into the Nor-Westward, that we could not prosecute our design without endangering our lives.

December 2nd. Wherefore in the morning we hauled on Shore on the Point; (for before we were on an Island) builded a fire, and there tarried until the 4th

day; in which time we suffered some for want of victuals, but much more by reason of the Cold, for it never was colder in my remembrance. We found on the Point a piece of pork, that was left by some people as they passed there and we had some meal or flour which we made dumplings of and boiled them with the pork, on which Col. Miller, with the rest of us, fed very heartily.

Dec. 4th. The wind had been so high ever since we came on shore, that it was impossible for us to pass forward; but this day was a fine calm; therefore we pushed forward very early and arrived at Fort George about sun down; having suffered very much by reason of the cold and for want of provisions. We pushed forward this night at far as Fort Edward.

Dec. 5th. Travelled to the Fly to Landlord Brown's.

Do 6th. Came down to Half Moon.

Do 7th. Came down as far as Green Bush to the widow Lumeses.

Do 8. Travelled as far as the Mills.

Do 9. By reason of the Rain, I travelled no farther than Jordenears (Gardiniers?)

Do 10. Travelled as far as Sheffield.

Do 11. Tarried at Sheffield with Capt. Doolittle.

Do 12. Took charge of a horse and pack of deer-skins and beaver, for Capt. Doolittle and marched to No. 1.

Do 13. Marched through the Green Woods and arrived at Blanford.

Do 14. Travelled to Springfield, leaving part of my pack of leather at Westfield.

Do 15. Rode to Brimfield to Sam' Shaws.

Do 16. Arrived home to Brother Daniel Mathew's at Brookfield.

PUTNAM'S JOURNAL,
1760.



Putnam's Journal, 1760.

AFTER my arrival home I removed my Quarters to Dea. W^m Witts' at New Brantree, and there tarried till some time in March, when unexpected to me, I received Beating orders from the Governor; in order to recruit for his Majesty's Service; and according to the method practiced that year, received a Commission¹ bearing date ye 11 of March 1760; under Col. Abijah Willard²

¹ This commission is among the Putnam manuscripts in the library of Marietta College.

² Abijah Willard was the son of Colonel Samuel Willard of Lancaster, Worcester county, Massachusetts, where he was born in the year 1722. He served in the army at the taking of Cape Breton, and rose to the rank of captain in the above campaign. Having recovered from his wound he commanded one of the Massachusetts regiments in the campaign of 1759, under Amherst, and in 1760 entered Montreal, by way of the lakes, with the army under the command of Brigadier General Haviland. In 1774, he was appointed a mandamus counsellor, in consequence of which he became very unpopular. While at Union,

in Capt. Thos. Beamans¹ Company. And being detained to recruit longer than I expected, I did not march with my Company.

June 2d 1760. Began my march for the Fourth Campaign, and marched to Springfield, which was about 30 miles.

Connecticut, he was seized and held through the night in confinement, and next day found himself obliged to sign a declaration that he would not act, asking, at the same time forgiveness for having taken the oath of office. On the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, he mounted his horse and was proceeding to Beverly, where he had a farm, to superintend the spring work. While on his way the uprising of the country led him to fear for his personal safety, and he turned his horse's head towards Boston, where he proposed to remain only a few days. He was caught by Gage's proclamation in a trap, and was too far compromised to return amongst his old neighbors. He subsequently accompanied the royal army to Halifax. Though offered a commission by General Howe, he refused, saying "he should never fight against his country." He was afterwards commissary to the British troops at New York, and in 1778 was proscribed, and his property confiscated. In July, 1783, he was one of the 55 petitioners, in the city of New York, to General Carleton for lands in Nova Scotia. He settled in New Brunswick and called the town Lancaster, after his native place in Massachusetts. He was a member of the Provincial Council and died at Lancaster, N. B., in May, 1789, aged 67 years. His estate in Massachusetts was redeemed by his family.

¹ Capt. Thomas Beaman adhered to the royal cause during the revolution.

June 3. Tarried in Springfield because the Muster Master was not in town.

Do 4. Rode from Springfield to Blanford, and falling in Company with Capt. Howe, we agreed to travel together, till we joined our Companies. He having a horse, I purchased part of him, put my pack on with his and our servants, and we travelled through the Green Woods, to Landlord Chadock's.

Do 6. It rained very hard this day, so that we tarried there all day.

Do 7. Travelled to Garret Burgins at Sheffield.

Do 8. Sunday—Travelled from Sheffield to Kinderhook to Mr. Van Buren's.

Do 9. Travelled to Fitches, an English Tavern between Kinderhook and Green Bush.

Do 10. Travelled to Albany and lodged at Mr. Williams'.

Do 11. Travelled to Md. Schuyler's at the Flats.

Do 12. Travelled to Stillwater.

Do 13. Travelled to Fort Miller, to Major Hawk's Camp, where I lodged.

June 14. Tarried with Major Hawks, and Capt. Howe went forward.

Do 15. Sunday.—Set out the morning and travelled to Fort George, where Capt. Howe found his Company and I lodged with him this night.

Do 16. Intended to cross the Lake with Capt. Jackson. Lighting of some of Capt. Beamans Company,

that were come over for stores, and were to return this day—tarried for them; and about three oclock set out in a bateau and arrived at Long Island about 7 miles down the Lake.

Do 17. Arrived at the Saw Mills near Ticonderoga.

Do 18. Arrived at Ticonderoga and joined Capt. Thos. Beaman's Company, which was stationed for the present, at Ticonderoga, under the Command of Col. Miller. This detachment consisted of four Companies.

June 20. Went on fatigue this day; also received news that the French had sent in about 150 of our English Prisoners, who were received by Major Rogers at his Post near Nut Island and the French sent back.

Do 22. Removed our Camp to the Landing place and Col. Miller to the Saw Mills, leaving two Companies at Ticonderoga. We were here employed in all kinds of duty, which was very fatiguing.

June 27. At night when sleeping I dreamed that I was at a wedding in Brookfield; but whose it was I could not tell, and when that was over, I was about to be married myself; but when I was dressed, I was one half in women's clothes, at which I was very much troubled. I also about this time dreamed that I was at Esqr. Ayres' House in Brookfield, and that there was a cup of drink given me and that there was no person in the room but his daughter Betsey, to whom I drank. But she immediately passed out of

the room, looking with a strange countenance, and I was left alone, very much damped in my spirits, to think that she, with whom I had been so well acquainted, and from whom I had never had the frown, should not take the cup and drink with me.¹

August 10. From the 27th of June to this nothing material, but everything carrying on the Campaign. And this day the Army embarked, and sailed toward Saint Johns.

Do 16. Col. Haverland² landed with the army of Regulars and Provincials under his command at Isle Deaux.

Do 28. The Enemy evacuated Isle Deaux.

Sept. 8th. Montreal Capitulated to Genl. Amherst.

Do 17. The Provincials that went down under the command of Col. Haverland returned to Crown Point.

Oct. 14. Genl. Amherst arrived at Crown Point.

Do 28. He passed our Post.

Nov. 10. I went to Crown Point.

Do 23. Returned to the Landing.

Do 18. Received orders to march to No 4.

¹ Rufus Putnam married Elizabeth (Betsey) Ayres at Brookfield, Mass., April, 1761. She died within the year.

² William Haviland, lieutenant colonel of the 27th or Inniskillen regiment. He served with distinction in the campaign in America from 1757 to 1762, commanded a brigade in the siege of Savannah in August, 1762; was made colonel in 1767, lieutenant general in 1772, general in 1783 and died in 1788.

Do 19. Marched to Ticonderoga where we were detained on account of not having our bread baked.

November 20. Having crossed the Lake by cutting the ice away ; about half after 11 o'clock we began our march for No. 4 and come to camp about sun down, having marched about 10 miles.

Do 21. Marched as soon as light in the morning, but being very much hindered by the sick men the Rhode Islands' left behind, we marched but about 12 miles and then camped.

Do 22. Having marched about two miles this morning, we found a man of Capt. Herrick's Company, dead, that had been left by Capt. Howe as they told us ; and found by Capt. Paige. He left two men to take care of him, and they leaving him, he was left alone ; and being in a fit, he fell into the fire and burnt himself so that his ribs lay bare ; then having suffered much by reason of the cold for some days till Col. Thomas came along, who left two of Capt. Herrick's Company to take care of him ; and he had not been dead 8 minutes when we came up. From thence we marched about 12 miles and Lodged.

November 23, 1760. Marched about two miles and breakfasted. About ten o'clock we crossed Otter Creek, and from there we marched about 8 miles and camped.

Do 24. Marched by a little after day-break, and about 10 o'clock breakfasted. Yesterday afternoon

we sent forward a man sick with the small-pox. Marched this night within about 20 miles of No. 4, where was an old encampment, and there lodged.

Do 25. Marched to No. 4.

Do 26. Marched to Westmoreland.

Do 27. To Keene.

Do 28. To Winchester.

Do 29. To Landlord Paige's at Petersham.

Do 30. To Solomon Matthews' at the south part of Petersham.

December 1st. Arrived home at Daniel Matthews at New Braintree.

And now, soon after my return home, I concluded not to go into the service any more, not from any dislike to the service of my King and Country, or any misfortunes in the service, for, through the goodness of Divine Providence, I was always prospered in some measure, and had my health entirely the whole 4 years that I have been out. And, although I underwent many hardships and difficulties; yet, by the good hand of my God upon me, I was enabled to bear up under them all.

(Remainder of the page torn off in the original journal.)

APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX.

BOSTON 21st of Feb., 1810.

RUFUS PUTNAM, Esq.

Dear Sir : I expect this letter will be handed to you by Mr. Oliver Putnam, a very respectable merchant of this Town, and whom I would recommend to your notice and particular attention. Any civilities shewn him will be thankfully acknowledged by me. Mr. Putnam, having mentioned to me, a few days since that he proposed setting out in a day or two on a visit to your part of the Country, I mentioned to him my acquaintance with you, and that I wished to write you by him. For I presumed it would not be unpleasant to you to hear from an old friend, who had been your messmate during the campaign of 1757, and who had waded through the deep snow on the banks of the Hoosick river, and over the lofty mountains of that name, in the cold month of February, 1758, and reduced to the sad necessity of eating dog. Friendships formed on such trying occasions are not easily obliterated, and, I assure you that I still feel a lively friendship for you, and have often thought of writing you ; but, no direct opportunity offering, have hitherto neglected it. You are the only one of my old comrades that I know of who is living. There may be others yet alive but I do not know where they dwell. I observed

last summer in the newspapers, the insertion of the death of Samuel Wiswal. I expect you remember his leaving us at Fort Edward, soon after the taking of Fort Wm. Henry.

I noticed in the public prints, a few years since, that T. Jefferson had honored you, by removing you from an office bestowed upon you by the great and virtuous Washington, the real Father of his Country. Your removal from office is full evidence of your adherence to the principles of the good old Washington school, of which I avow myself to be a true disciple; and the numerous removals of honest, capable men from office, and, in many instances, the vacancies so made by T. Jefferson filled again by him with d——d rascals, has excited my warmest indignation.

I consider that heaven, in its wrath, for the sins of our nation, permitted him to preside over our nation. I did hope that his successor was fully convinced of the mad, weak and foolish measures of his immediate predecessor, and that he would administer the Government with impartiality; but I find myself disappointed, and that we are still to bear French insults and that Great Britain is to be treated with every possible insult, to provoke her to commence hostilities against us, and we thus compelled to go to war with her, and to form an alliance with the Tyrant and Scourge of Europe, which I pray heaven to avert.

You will see that this letter is dated at Boston. I came here about a month since, on a visit to my son and daughter, who live here; they being all the children I have. My daughter is married and her husband and my son are doing business together as Merch^{ts} under the firm of Richards & Jones. My wife is still living, but has not enjoyed very good health for some years past. I have generally, enjoyed very good health, but now feel the infirmities of old age. I entered my 72d year

the 8th instant. I believe your age is not much different from mine. I came on from Machias to Boston by land, and expect to return again the same way, the fore part of next month. If you have any Federal Newspapers edited with you, the spirited resolutions passed by our legislature in their present session, will undoubtedly be published in them & you will read them with much satisfaction ; they manifest the true spirit of '75. If you find it convenient to write to me, I assure you that it will be very acceptable to

Your old friend and Humble Servant,

STEPHEN JONES.

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